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Serbian heritage language schools in the Netherlands through the eyes of the parents

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MA THESIS

Serbian heritage language schools in the Netherlands through the eyes of the parents

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**rijksuniversiteit
groningen**

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*'Dižite škole!'*¹

Dižite škole

Deca vas mole!

'Skini mi, babo, s čela oblake,

Ne daj me, babo, u prosijake!

Ne štedi, babo, rad dobra moga,

Smiluj se, babo, tako ti boga!

Jer, biće dana, al' neće sreće,

I biće ljudi, al' Srba neće!

Pomozi, babo, pomoć' ću i ja,

Da srpsko ime jošte prosija!'

Dižimo škole

Deca vas mole!

I would like to gratefully acknowledge various people who have supported and helped me in producing this thesis. I never could have done it alone.

First and foremost my extreme gratitude goes out to my thesis supervisors PhD. Eva Juarros Daussà and Dr. Nanna H. Hilton. They also provided me with a great learning experience through this master's program and a lot of support along the way.

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I also need to thank my family and friends for their support and patience. This goes specially for my mother and father, who were always there to calm me down when I was stressed and going through rough patches.

Захваљујем свим 'чуварима' српске културе и језика у Холандији. Родитељима и посебно наставницима Нади Радовић Чанак и Ратку Николићу који су допринели да мој рад буде потврда њиховог великог дела.

¹ Excerpt from 'Dižite škole!' (Build schools!). Written by one of the best-known Serbian poets Jovan Jovanović Zmaj (1833-1904).

ABSTRACT

It is difficult to find the exact number of other languages spoken besides Dutch in the Netherlands. A study showed that a total of 96 other languages are spoken by students attending Dutch primary and secondary schools. The variety of languages spoken shows the growth of linguistic diversity in the Netherlands. However, in some countries the trend is that (immigrant) languages disappear within two or three generations. Losing the ability to communicate in a first language is a negative development. Language shift has a number of negative consequences that affect the child's social, cognitive, and emotive development. Therefore, it is important that heritage language schools exist. This thesis examines how a small community, the Serbs in the Netherlands, attempts to pass on its heritage language to younger generations through heritage language schools.

The study drew from the three community-based Serbian heritage language schools in the Netherlands. Questionnaires were sent to the parents of children attending the schools in order to gain an overall picture of participants' opinions. In order to gather more qualitative data, interviews were organised with parents (individual or in groups) at each Serbian school. Parents who participated in the study cited many reasons for sending their children to Serbian schools. They are aware of the benefits that their children will gain if they grow up reading, writing, and speaking two languages. Parents hope that this will increase the children's academic skills and career opportunities. Moreover, that Serbian school has helped them to pass on their Serbian language and culture. However, the Serbian schools have their limits. Lack of resources and financial aid force the schools to operate on a voluntary basis, which threatens quality instruction.

This study provided an opportunity for parents to share why it is important that these Serbian schools exist and why it is important to maintain one's heritage language.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 LANGUAGES IN THE NETHERLANDS

It is difficult to find the exact number of other languages spoken besides Dutch in the Netherlands, because no official records are known of the number of speakers of such languages. Extra et al. (2002) made an attempt to collect these data among primary and secondary school students. This study was conducted between 1997 and 2002. It involved over a 100,000 students in 13 cities in the Netherlands. Students were asked which language other than or along with Dutch were spoken at home. The outcome was that 32% of the primary school students and 28% of the secondary school students reported speaking at least a second language at home. The questioned students spoke a total of 96 languages. The 23 most frequently mentioned languages represented 96% of all of the languages reported in the survey. Seven are a national language in the European Union, while the others are predominantly from Africa or Asia. The variety of languages spoken shows the growth of

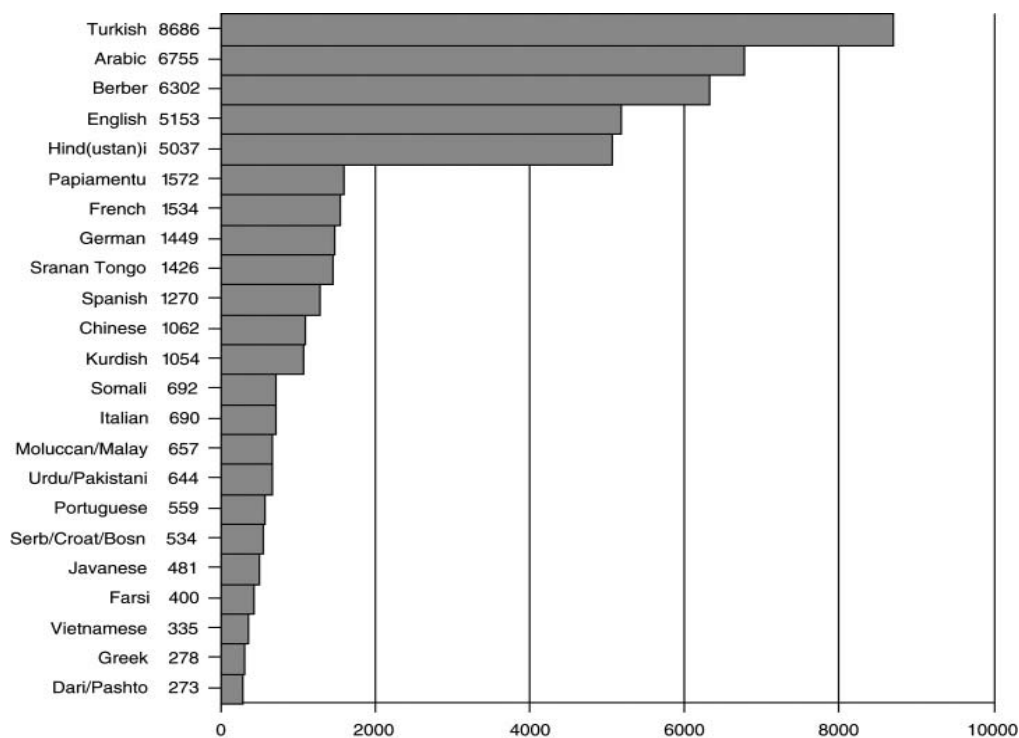


Table 1 Top 23 most frequently mentioned languages other than Dutch (Extra et al, 2002)

linguistic diversity in the Netherlands (Extra et al., 2002).

In the United States, the trend is that (immigrant) languages disappear within two or three generations (Fishman, 2001). Instead of learning the English language in addition to a language spoken at home, children start to use only English as they enter school (Tse, 2001). Losing the ability to communicate in their first language is a negative development. Fortunately, as mentioned above,

the linguistic diversity in the Netherlands is still growing. However, the focus in research is mainly on the 23 most mentioned languages. What about the other languages? This thesis examines how a small community, the Serbs in the Netherlands, attempts to pass on its heritage language to younger generations through heritage language schools. Today, an estimated 80,000 migrants with roots in one of the former Yugoslav countries live in the Netherlands: (children of) guest workers who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s, and refugees who arrived in the late 1980s and 1990s. In January 2015, 2,232 people were known to (also) have the Serbian nationality and live in the Netherlands (CBS, 2015). The exact number of Serbs is unclear, because Statistics Netherlands (CBS) defines a large number simply as 'former Yugoslav'.

1.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING HERITAGE LANGUAGES

According to Fishman (2001), heritage languages are 'languages other than English [...] that have a particular family relevance to the learner.' Fishman (2001) defines three types of heritage languages: indigenous languages, colonial languages, and immigrant languages. Although the term 'heritage language' has been criticised, Garcia noted in an interview (as cited in Van Deusen-Scholl, 2000) that the term implies belonging to the past, or to a previous generation, but that other alternatives are also problematic and may impose limiting or skewed perspectives (Villa & Villa, 1998). Wharry (1993) prefers the term 'ancestral language', however, this may also imply something removed in time, and not something modern. The terms *allochthonous language*, *home language*, and *language of origin* are frequently used in Europe and Africa. Broeder and Extra (1999) recommend the term *immigrant minority language* to be used in the Netherlands, because it is more neutral. Because Fishman (2001) defines a heritage language as an immigrant language, Broeder and Extra (1999) use the term immigrant minority language, and the research for this thesis has been conducted in the Netherlands, 'heritage language' will be used as the neutral term in this thesis. In this study, the heritage language is Serbian brought by immigrants to the Netherlands.

Ideally, children and students should learn the language of the country in which they are living, while continuing to develop skills in their heritage language. The benefits of additive bilingualism and multilingual education are numerous. Examples vary from bilinguals excelling monolingual speakers on test scores to improved self-esteem, and a higher self-confidence than mono-literate peers (Bialystok, 2005; Huang, 1995; Peal & Lambert, 1962; Porters & Hao, 1998). However, the value of heritage languages and the benefits of bilingualism in everyday life are sometimes underestimated and depend on a number of factors, such as political decisions and prestige. Subtle messages influence children (and parents) who therefore think that their home language and culture are

useless and have a negative impact to their education. This leads to abandoning a heritage language in favour of the higher-prestige majority language.

As defined by Dorian (Hornberger, 2002), language shift is a ‘gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community members’ and can take place over generations. Additionally, the heritage language can already disappear in early childhood, as noted by Tse (2001). Language shift has a number of negative consequences that affect the child’s social, cognitive, and emotive development. Furthermore, the inability to communicate with family or relatives can have a devastating impact on a person (Cummins, 2000; Huang, 1995; Thomas & Collier, 2002; Wong-Fillmore 2000).

For all of these reasons, it is important that heritage language schools exist. They can be defined as schools in which a heritage language is taught to ‘students who have either learned the language as their home language or who have some form of family or “heritage” connection to the language (e.g., second and third generation immigrants)’ (Cummins, 2005). While this definition could be applied to some bilingual programs in the mainstream educational system, in this thesis any mention of heritage language school refers only to community-based, ‘weekend’ heritage language school. This study involved only the Serbian language schools in the Netherlands that are organised at the grassroots level in an effort to pass on the heritage language and culture to immigrant children growing up in a Dutch dominant society.

1.3 BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH(ER)

I chose to study the Serbian heritage language schools in the Netherlands because of my own background and experience. My mother is Serbian and my father is Dutch. Despite some teachers and speech therapists advising my parents not to bring me up with Serbian and Dutch, they decided to follow their plan. I remember coming home from primary school and sitting at the kitchen table with my mother, reading Serbian books, while friends were playing in the park. She had to teach me the language herself, because there was no Serbian school in our region that could help her with this time-consuming task. Without my mother, I would not have learned the language and I could not communicate with my relatives. This showed me the importance of heritage language schools; I believe that they encourage the heritage language growth and slow language shift. However, when I started to study multilingualism, I wondered why I had never heard about Serbian schools in the Netherlands, while other communities, such as the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, were well organised and had their own cultural and educational centres.

Moreover, over time I overheard several conversations between Serbian parents and their children at holidays and gatherings. It struck me that some Serbian parents spoke Dutch to their child. And even if a parent spoke Serbian to him or her, the child would reply in Dutch. I then politely asked the parent why this happened. The most heard answer was ‘because my child does not want to be associated with Serbia and we do not live there.’ Asking a toddler resulted in: ‘I do not want to learn Serbian, I speak Dutch with my friends. I am not Serbian!’ I was surprised by the responses and began to wonder whether attending a heritage language school would positively impact language minority students’ self-esteem and sense of cultural identity.

Only a longitudinal study would properly answer the question of whether children’s self-esteem and cultural identity would change over time as a result of attending a heritage language school; that would be beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the topic still interested me and I decided to read other studies about heritage language schools; these demonstrated different ways to tackle this subject. I eventually decided to examine the motivation of parents who send their children to Serbian heritage language schools. As a multilingualism student, I value heritage language schools for their potential to strengthen students’ self-esteem and cultural pride. Is that the same reason parents enrol their children in these schools, or are there other factors? The only way to answer that question was to ask those parents.

Parents are integral to the organisation and implementation of heritage language schools. Not only do parents drive their children to the schools once a week and perhaps pay fees, but many parents also volunteer as teachers, administrators, and fundraisers. What are the parents’ motivations for becoming involved and what do they hope that their children will gain from attending a Serbian school? Do they feel like those goals are being achieved? I also wondered about the relationship (or lack thereof) between the Serbian schools and mainstream schools. Do parents think that mainstream schools could support their efforts to preserve their heritage language and culture? Finally, in the case of a mixed marriage (Serbian-Dutch), what does the Dutch parent think of the importance of learning the Serbian language?

I entered this research with certain biases. First of all, I believe that maintaining a heritage language is important and that the Serbian community in the Netherlands has failed to support the development of bilingual children. Secondly, I believe that the Serbian schools can contribute positively to the language development, academic achievement, and emotional well-being of their students. Lastly, I believe that the broader community, especially those in the field of education, should support these valuable programs.

1.4 THE HISTORY OF HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands has always been known for its pluralistic approach to immigrant minority language issues. However, since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on the United States, Dutch policy makers, opinion leaders in the media, and even ‘educational specialists’ have become increasingly anti-pluralist, discouraging the use of languages other than Dutch at home because they will negatively influence integration into Dutch society (Extra & Yagmur, 2006; Pennix, 1996). Cultural diversity and multilingualism are increasingly believed to threaten society and unity. This tendency can be compared to the United States, where a strong English-only sentiment can be felt (Barker et al., 2001). Dutch-only policies aim to limit the use, maintenance, and promotion of immigrant heritage languages, trying to quicken the integration of migrant groups into mainstream society.

To understand this process, it is important to examine the development of instruction of immigrant languages in Dutch primary and secondary schools (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). In primary schools, such instruction was offered from 1974 to 2004. Initially, it was called *Onderwijs in Eigen Taal en Cultuur* (Education in One’s Own Language and Culture, OETC), and was later renamed OET because culture was left out of instruction). In 1998, this was changed to *Onderwijs in Allochtone Levende Talen* (Education in Nonindigenous Living Languages, OALT), which it remained until 2004. In secondary schools, the teaching of immigrant languages as optional subjects does not have a long history. Languages not belonging to the traditional languages taught at school (English, German, and French) are referred to as *Onderwijs in Nieuwe Schooltalen* (Education in New School Languages, ONST) (Extra & Yagmur, 2006; Nortier, 2009).

1.4.1 Post-OALT initiatives for primary school children

Because of the anti-immigrant movements in the Netherlands, already in 1998 it was proposed to abolish OALT in primary schools, because it was seen as ‘in contradiction with the policy of integration of immigrant children’ (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). It was argued that in order to improve immigrants’ proficiency, the focus should be on Dutch only, and on keeping multicultural schools as monolingual as possible. This plan was continued by the new elected government in May 2003 as well, and did not encounter any resistance (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). Opposition by immigrant groups against this decision did not affect mainstream politics. At the start of the 2004–2005 primary school year, the Ministry of Education announced the abolishment of OALT. More than 1,400 OALT teachers were dismissed. In order to maintain immigrant language instruction for primary school children, extra-curricular and complementary alternatives were organised on the local and national levels (Extra & Yagmur, 2006).

1.4.2 ONST in Dutch secondary schools

In secondary schools, ONST is part of the regular school curriculum as an optional subject. Various modern languages, such as Turkish and Spanish, can be chosen instead of French or German. However, some languages do not have an official curriculum status (e.g. Chinese, Greek, Hindi, Papiamentu) (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). Native Dutch-speaking students rarely participate in these lessons, although accurate data are unavailable. ONST, in contrast to OALT in primary schools, is seen as a positive development, because it is thought that ONST in secondary school will enhance skills in languages other than Dutch and promote cultural pluralism. The basic objectives of ONST are similar to those of teaching modern foreign languages, such as English, French, and German (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). Since the 1990s, the Ministry of Education has supported the development of ONST materials; therefore, a variety of well-established teaching materials are available for Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Italian, and Spanish. For other languages, materials often originate from abroad. Funding for ONST is directly allocated by the Ministry of Education to schools that apply for funding and that satisfy the enrolment conditions. However, most languages (apart from Turkish and Arabic) are excluded from governmental aid (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). Secondary schools can also make use of a special provision for immigrant students, allowing them to receive additional instruction in Dutch as a second language as well as in their home languages. ONST achievements for selected languages are evaluated using both local school exams as well as centrally developed and implemented national exams for Turkish, Arabic, Spanish, and Russian (Extra & Yagmur, 2006).

1.5 HISTORY OF SERBIAN HERITAGE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS IN THE NETHERLANDS

The following information, facts, and numbers were provided by Mrs Nada Čanak and Mr Ratko Nikolić (founders of the first Yugoslav school in the Netherlands) during interviews, with the help of archived school administration and private documents.

The first Serbian heritage language schools opened in 1972 in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The founders were teachers and parents who were living in the Netherlands and knew each other as friends. These ‘pioneers’ were helped by the Dutch Foundation for Foreign Employees (Stichting Buitenlandse Werknemers) and the embassy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in The Hague. New schools opened shortly thereafter throughout the Netherlands: in Alkmaar, The Hague, Nijmegen, Hengelo, and in many other cities. From 1974 onwards, these schools were monitored by the Dutch Ministry of Education and the municipalities that also financed the schools. The schools were coordinated by a representative sent by Yugoslavia, who worked together with the Association of Yugoslav teachers (UJN) from 1982.

Until 1991/1992, 23 schools taught children about the Serbo-Croatian language and their homeland. In Rotterdam, classes were arranged for children with an Albanian background, and in Utrecht the same was done for children with a Macedonian background. Fifty-two teachers worked in these schools, sharing their knowledge with more than 1,000 pupils. The breakdown of Yugoslavia led to the reorganisation of the Yugoslav schools. Teaching in the 'Serbo-Croatian' language stopped after 1992, when the schools broke up according to the languages spoken in the newly formed republics: Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, and Albanian. Serbian schools opened in 10 cities (e.g. Amsterdam, Cuijk, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Brunssum) with a total number of 450 pupils and 22 teachers (who were employed by the Dutch municipalities).

1.5.1 The organisation of the classes

When the first school opened, children up to 14 years old were accepted. This gradually increased to 18 over the years. In 1985, Yugoslav pre-schools opened, and thus children aged 4-6 could join the older children in those locations. Most schools taught on Wednesday afternoons or on Saturdays, when children did not receive compulsory Dutch education. Because the number of pupils differed from city to city, it was not possible to integrate Serbian classes into the Dutch educational system (which at that time was possible if certain conditions were fulfilled).

Only children from 4 to 18 who were receiving compulsory education and who had at least one Yugoslav parent had the right to enrol at the Yugoslav schools. In the Yugoslav primary school, pupils had five hours of classes twice a week, and in secondary school they had two and a half hours. Besides Serbian language classes, pupils learned about the culture and customs of their parents' (or their) homeland. From 1993/1994, the Serbian Ministry of Education and Culture supplied the school curriculum, and all of the books were distributed by the Institute for School and Teaching Material in Belgrade. Because most of these books were to some extent difficult for the pupils, teachers also used books published by the Pedagogic Institute in Amsterdam (Stichting advies- en begeleidingscentrum voor het onderwijs in Amsterdam).

1.5.2 The organisation of the schools

The Serbian schools in the Netherlands are not a part of the Dutch compulsory educational system, nor can grades obtained by pupils be added to Dutch school reports, contrarily to in Sweden and in parts of Germany and Australia. No relationship to the Dutch educational system was defined, because politicians at that time of the creation of the Serbian schools believed that migrants in the Netherlands should integrate as quickly as possible so that a multicultural society could lead to assimilation. This process can be defined in three phases.

The first phase was the period starting from the founding of the schools until the end of the 1980s. It was characterised by contracted Yugoslav migrants working for Dutch firms who planned on returning to their homeland. The schools were a part of OETC. They were seen as additional schooling and were not obligatory. Classes were held in language, history, and geography. A school could only open and function if it had a minimum of eight pupils. The books used were called *Naš jezik* (Our language) and *Moja domovina SFRJ* (my homeland SFRY), published in Yugoslavia. The Dutch Ministry of Education and the municipalities funded the schools and also organised other courses (such as Dutch courses) for the Yugoslav migrants. This phase can be seen as the most successful in the history of the existence of the schools.

The second phase lasted from 1991 to mid-1998. In this period, the Dutch government emphasised the importance of integration, because less migrants were returning to their homelands and they had to adapt to Dutch society as quickly as possible. Therefore, Dutch language courses were the main focus during the integration process. Less financial aid was made available for the Serbian schools, and pedagogical projects were ceased (such as the *Schoolkontaktpersoon*, a contact person for problems occurring in both Dutch and Serbian schools). In 1992, the Dutch educational secretary, J. Wallage, issued a memorandum called '*Ceders in de Tuin*' (Cedars in the Garden), in which new guidelines concerning the schools were created. The OET system meant that the schools should only focus on language, instead of also offering classes in culture, geography, and history. OET focused on the heritage language only as being a helpful language besides Dutch, so that children could be more successful in Dutch schools.

Because of the sole focus on the language, grammar, spelling, and idioms were the main topics in classes. According to teachers, however, this is not enough to learn about one's (parents') homeland, but also to become acquainted with the country in which one lives. Other than these major alterations, no changes were made to the conditions to start a heritage language school.

In the third phase, in 1998, a new programme was introduced that changed the process of integration and assimilation and replaced the previous OET. The new OALT system influenced the curriculum of the Serbian schools. The teachers interviewed in this study argued that OALT deteriorated the Serbian school's programme and its importance. The reasons for this are manifold.

- 1) The Ministry of Education dropped the monitoring task and transferred it to the municipalities only.
- 2) Contrarily to OET(C), OALT gave no instructions regarding which language (e.g. dialects, varieties) should be used in the heritage language schools.
- 3) A focus on the language spoken at home instead of the language used in schoolbooks would lead to a more multi-ethnic society with more differences.
- 4) Closing the 'gap' between the heritage language schools and the Dutch language

schools was no longer of great importance. 5) Only children aged 4 to 12 have the right to attend the heritage language schools. 6) A minimum of 35 enrolments is required to open a heritage language school. 7) Teachers teaching at the heritage language schools should have the same level of education required from those teaching at Dutch schools.



Photo 1 Impression of the Serbian school in Rotterdam in 2002

Since 2004, the number of Serbian schools has plunged to three. Only the schools in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Utrecht have managed to keep their doors open. An average of 30 to 40 students in total enrol annually. Being unable to comply with the OALT guidelines, the schools have lost their financial aid and other support offered by the government, and have become self-supporting.

1.6 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter introduced the present research and explained the benefits and challenges of heritage language maintenance. It explained the purpose of the study and briefly introduced its context. Chapter Two provides a review of literature relevant to this study. Topics reviewed include the benefits of heritage language maintenance, causes of language shift, common characteristics of heritage language schools, and, finally, perspectives of participating parents, teachers, and heritage language students. Chapter Three describes the research methodology, as well as the introduction of the participants and three Serbian schools. Chapter Four presents and discusses the results of the study and the reflection on the collected data collected. Chapter Five is the conclusion of this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the work that has been written about heritage language maintenance and heritage language schools. First, it will discuss the benefits of heritage language maintenance. Then, it will attempt to answer the question of why it is so common for the children of immigrants to forget their home language as they learn a different language, such as Dutch or English. Further, the third part of the chapter will specifically examine heritage language schools, describing their common characteristics and comparing them to full-day bilingual schools. Finally, this chapter will discuss what other researchers have found by interviewing parents, teachers, and their children about their thoughts on heritage language schools.

2.1 HERITAGE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Although some people still encourage a one-language only policy, the majority of research over the years has shown the benefits of a child using and developing a heritage language in addition to learning a second language. These benefits can be categorised into four types: 1) the economic benefits of heritage language development; 2) the influence that heritage language maintenance has on children's cognitive development and achievements; 3) the positive effects of heritage language maintenance on children's cultural identities and self-esteem; and 4) the importance of heritage language maintenance for family cohesion.

2.1.2 Economic benefits

While it took several months to cross the oceans to a different world in the 17th century, nowadays the other side is reached within an eight-hour flight. This has led to a diverse society and global economy in which it is important to know several languages. Bilingualism is a necessary and marketable skill. As a bilingual, doors open more easily and employment opportunities are available in almost every field, such as tourism, international business, technology, government, law, education, and social services (Crawford, 2008). According to Messinis (2009), native-born (second-generation) bilinguals are not expected to have language problems the way that first-generation immigrants do. The second generation often shares similar schooling experiences with native co-workers (Messinis, 2009). Bilingualism enables them to 1) 'exploit trade advantages' (Melitz, 2008); 2) 'access new ideas that are important for innovation or technological diffusion' (Mokyr, 1999; Javorcik et al., 2011; Niebuhr, 2010); 3) 'access tacit knowledge or "social capital"' (Giorgas, 2000); and 4) 'enhance their motivation and efficiency in learning' (Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Galasi, 2003).

In the United States, government agencies such as the CIA, FBI, and Homeland Security depend on staff with a proficiency in more than 100 languages (Carreira & Armengol, 2001). Moreover, companies need to have bilingual staff who are familiar with other cultures and habits in order to serve clients across the globe. A Multicultural Marketers survey showed that 45% of marketing firms seek bilingual employees to reach immigrant customers (Carreira & Armengol, 2001). As the number of bilingual children increases, schools are looking for foreign language teachers who are also culturally competent. In healthcare, hospitals need bilingual doctors and nurses to ensure that they can communicate with patients in their home language, so that valuable information about symptoms and doctors' instructions can be exchanged without difficulty. This also ensures that a patient receives culturally competent care (Carreira & Armengol, 2001).

These important professions and positions require advanced academic language skills. Casual conversation skills are not enough in order to perform tasks such as reading and writing technical reports, (medical) diagnoses, and persuading customers to buy a product.

However, new research has raised serious questions. Some researchers are pessimistic about the position of second-generation immigrants in the United States (Aydemir & Sweetman, 2007; Borjas, 2006), and Hammarstedt and Palme (2006) show that certain second-generation immigrant groups in Sweden have not been able to improve their status. Blackaby et al. (2005) are concerned about the position of British born non-white ethnic groups who seem susceptible to intergenerational disadvantage. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2007) raises similar concerns with respect to second-generation immigrants in Denmark and Germany. A second language can also be a disadvantage, according to Lazear (1999) and Chiswick and Miller (2002): 'language acquisition is costly, requires parental investment and depends on the degree of social participation and integration in the broader society.' Therefore, Chiswick (2009) argues that the second generation 'may pay a price as a result of participation in ethnic, linguistic enclaves, parental limitations in assisting their children with the development of linguistic skills or discrimination.'

2.1.3 Cognitive benefits

Bilingualism has a positive effect on children's cognitive development, and eventually on their academic achievement. Maintaining a heritage language could play an important role in this process. Some researchers doubt the benefit of bilingual education because knowing two languages puts an additional intellectual burden on students (Cavalarro, 2005), while others claim that children should learn the patterns of one language first (such as the syntactic rules) in order to learn a second or additional language (Yeung & Suliman, 2000). However, most studies have disproved these findings. Bilingualism does not harm or confuse students and it does not slow their intellectual growth. In

many cases, bilingualism results in a positive cognitive and academic development (Bialystok, 2005; Peal & Lambert, 1962; Thomas & Collier, 2002). One hundred and fifty studies over the past three decades have shown a positive correlation between bilingualism and students' academic, cognitive, or linguistic growth (Cummins, 2000). If controlled for socioeconomic status and individual characteristics, 'a positive association among bilingualism, cognitive flexibility, and academic performance has been consistent' (Portes & Hao, 1998). Portes and Hao also state that this positive association has become a recognised fact among researchers. In addition, bilinguals have more metalinguistic abilities than monolinguals, and a number of researchers also agree that speakers of more than one language have greater mental flexibility, are capable of more divergent thinking, and can solve problems better than their monolingual peers can (Bialystok, 2005; Cavallaro, 2005; Crawford, 2008; Peal & Lambert, 1962; Tse 2001). This could be explained by the fact that bilinguals are more flexible and are able to consider things from different perspectives (Bialystok, 2005; Crawford, 2008). According to Bialystok (2005), the reason for this can be sought in a bilingual's ability to control his or her attention and ignore distracting information. As suggested by Danesi (1991), 'language is the foundation of cognition; therefore, possessing more than one language broadens a child's cognitive base.'

The influential interdependence hypothesis states that development in one language influences the development of a second (Cummins, 2000). Research on this hypothesis has shown a positive relationship between academic language proficiency in the first and second languages, and demonstrated that academic knowledge and skills transfer across languages (Cummins, 2000).

2.1.4 Identity development and psychological status

A child's development can be measured by tests, and academic achievement can be quantified. However, measuring and quantifying identity is a difficult process. Identity can be defined as 'our sense of who we are and our relationship to the world' (Kanno, 2003) and is influenced by age, sex, ethnicity, language, and culture (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Moreover, identity can change over time. It is an internal dynamic process that interacts with others and thus evolves (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Those interactions can influence the way in which we see ourselves and others. They can reinforce our images of ourselves or challenge them. External factors are inextricably linked to our internal identities (Jenkins, 1996). According to Norton-Peirce (1995), 'a language learner's identity must be understood with reference to larger, and frequently inequitable social structures.' Furthermore, the status and prestige of a language, for example the contrast between the dominant language and subordinate minority languages, also play a significant role in the development of someone's identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

The role of language in the process of identity development is of great importance, as our interactions with others mostly take place through language, and ‘through language, ethnic identity may be expressed, enacted, and symbolised’ (Baker & Jones, 1998). In other words, language also develops one’s identity. Johri (as cited in Oriyama, 2010) confirms this positive correlation. This means that someone who develops his heritage language skills tends to identify strongly with the heritage culture. The reverse is also true: someone who positively identifies with his ethnic background is more likely to develop his heritage language abilities.

Self-concept is determined by the (ethnic) groups to which we belong and by how we compare ourselves to them. Knowing the language of such a group is often a condition to becoming a full member. Group membership is essential to how someone’s identity is shaped (Kanno, 2003; Tse, 2001). This already starts at an early age. Children who have a negative association towards their heritage language group are likely to choose not to identify themselves with that group. Instead, they will mostly identify with the higher-prestige language group. As mentioned in the previous chapter, recent anti-immigrant movements in the Netherlands have changed attitudes towards ethnic groups. Children from these minorities frequently face negative utterances about their background and language, making it difficult for them to accept both sides of their identity.

Positively accepting one’s bicultural and bilingual identity can be a difficult and lengthy process. According to Tse (1998, 2001), there are four levels through which individuals pass during their identity development. It takes time and maturity before someone is able to see a multi-ethnic background as an advantage instead of a burden. Interviews with Korean-Americans recorded by Cho (2000) demonstrate the impact of heritage language competence on social interactions. She found that participants with a strong heritage language competence strongly identified with their background and were better at understanding cultural values, manners, ethics, and habits than those with weak heritage language competence were. Individuals who only spoke English reported feeling isolated and excluded from their own ethnic group (Cho, 2000).

A young person’s self-esteem and mental health can be boosted by bilingualism. A study by Huang (1995) shows that Mexican American eighth-graders who self-identified as fluent (oral and on paper) in both English and Spanish had higher self-confidence than those who were only orally bilingual or monolingual. Huang concludes that a person’s positive self-reported knowledge of a heritage language contributes more to feelings of empowerment than his actual level of language skills. Wright and Taylor (1995) demonstrate in a different study that heritage language education in primary grades had a positive effect on children’s personal and group self-esteem. Heritage language education ‘enables [students] not only to explore their roots and associate more closely with fellow

speakers of the language, but also to overcome feelings of alienation with a sense of pride in their community' (Crawford, 2008).

Heritage language maintenance may help (young) people to cope with discrimination and negative messages about their background and language. Discrimination can affect the way in which people assimilate into larger society. The characteristics of a minority or immigrant group are important for someone's ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). Pressures to give up this identity in order to assimilate may result in anger, depression, and, in some cases, violence (Phinney et al., 2001). Immigrants prevented from creating support networks and ethnic communities may also face problems of adaptation (Phinney et al., 2001). However, strong ethnic identity can prevent such depressive symptoms and problems (Mossakowski, 2007). Wright and Bougie (2007) believe that heritage language maintenance may 'play a critical role in buffering the negative impact of discrimination.'

Literature about integration and assimilation has clearly shown that most immigrants prefer integration (Berry & Sam, 1997). Integration for these immigrants means that they can hold onto their own culture and language while adapting to the new culture, thus belonging both to an ethnic group and to larger society. Bicultural competence improves the mental health of ethnically diverse youth, and having a broad cultural perspective can make them more resistant to the negative effects on self-esteem caused by discrimination (Berry & Sam, 1997).

Lastly, heritage language maintenance appears to act as a defence mechanism against dangerous behaviours in adolescents and teens. One study demonstrates that girls who had higher levels of heritage language maintenance were less likely to be victims of sexual assault (Ramos et al., 2011). It could be that heritage languages strengthen close family ties, which provide girls with a higher level of emotional support and guidance from their elders. Another study gave young Mexican-origin youths a questionnaire regarding their beliefs about drug and alcohol use (Marsiglia, 2010). The results of the questionnaires reveal that girls who maintained their heritage language thought negatively about the use of drugs and said that it was not acceptable for someone of their age to do drugs. In addition, boys and girls who maintained their heritage language had lower rates of recent alcohol use than their monolingual peers.

In conclusion, language and ethnic identity are closely linked. A strong bond with the heritage language and culture can strengthen an individual's position in the dominant society in which he lives. However, immigrants could become disillusioned in the process of becoming part of the larger society when confronted with discrimination or rejection of their integration efforts (Phinney et al., 2001). Immigrants who are forced by circumstances to live in isolated ghettos are unlikely to be satisfied or productive members of society. If, however, the host society is accepting of immigrants,

newcomers will have the choice to be bicultural if they so desire. Clearly, societies need to find a balance between encouraging cultural retention and promoting adaptation to the larger society (Phinney et al., 2001).

2.1.5 Family cohesion

The family is an interesting domain in which to study language policy because of its critical role in the development of a child's linguistic environment (Schwarz, 2010). Although the modern urban family has lost much of its socialisation power, according to Fishman (1991) it is nevertheless 'the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilization.' Wong-Fillmore (2000), Okita (2002), and Tannenbaum (2005) addressed the emotional aspects of home language maintenance or loss for the first time. The parents' initial decision regarding language maintenance or shift may be strongly related to complex emotional processes. Tannenbaum (2005) analysed the link between past and present family relations on the one hand, and home language maintenance on the other among immigrant families in Australia.

Only a few researchers have studied the relation between bilingualism and family cohesion. Two studies on this topic, by Li (1994) and Li and Milroy (1995), found that second-generation Chinese British children tended to shift language from Chinese to English when they thought that their answer was different from what was expected by Chinese cultural family norms of being obedient to parents and grandparents. Additionally, the adult speakers of Chinese adapted their language when addressing Chinese children born in the UK. However, they did not switch when making a request to speakers of their own generation. This research shows that bilingual speakers of Chinese and English manipulate language according to appropriate cultural norms.

This example and other interactional studies have shown that language choice in families serves a range of interactional purposes and is locally negotiated (Ogiermann 2013). Furthermore, children can deploy various compliant or resistant strategies in response to parental language policies, strategically using the multiple languages available to them. They can align themselves with the parent or challenge parental authority (Pitton 2013). For affective and social reasons, parents may accommodate children's language choices rather than insisting on heritage language use by, for instance, allowing a parallel mode of interaction – children using the majority language and parents their heritage language – or adjusting to the child's choice of the majority language (Gafaranga 2010).

Parents introduce values to their children and pass on knowledge gained from life experience. When parents are not fluent in the language that children learn at school, and when children have not developed their home language, a number of issues arise. Wong-Fillmore (1991) and Zhang and

Slaughter-Defoe (2009) argue that in that situation there can be little deep parent-child communication. In other words, children can discuss basic everyday happenings, but lack the sophisticated language to fully express their feelings, motivations, and opinions. A 'wall of words' separates children and parents (Cho, 2001). In a study by Cho and Krashen (1998), two Korean students are cited who experienced this metaphoric wall:

'I can say the most subtle thing to my friends and they understand the whole colour of it. But, with my parents, I have to literally say everything, like, "I am sad! ... This is why ..." However, with my friends I just talk about all different aspects of how I am sad and how it reminds me of a time [...] and how I can get over it with what I have learned. But with my parents, I am just reporting to them. It totally loses the interactive connection.'

Another example in Hinton's (1999) study depicts a student struggling to have shallow conversations in Chinese with the parents:

'I [...] do not have enough of a vocabulary to have meaningful talks with them. Such was the case just the other night when they asked me what my major at Berkeley was but I did not know the phrase for "biology," much less, "molecular and cellular biology." The best I could manage was "science" in Chinese and explained the rest in English. [...] we ended the discussion by changing the subject.'

As argued by Wong-Fillmore (1991), it is important for parents to have a shared language with their child, because parents pass on values, beliefs, and advice about how to cope with life's challenges. If this common language is missing, parents are unable to teach their children about personal responsibility, work ethic, and how to be ethical people. A Hispanic mother who only spoke limited English described how difficult it was when she could not discuss important topics with her son:

'I thought, "I'm losing my child right here." You want to speak to your children in your own language; you want to talk about certain topics from your heart, but it's hard when you can only speak broken English.' (Cho, 2001)

When parents communicate with their young children in a language in which they have not gained a high level of proficiency, children will not receive the quality input they require to build the foundations for successful parent-child communication (Tessel & Danesh, 2015). This type of input is especially important for children with developmental delays. For example, children with a fragile X syndrome showed an increase in receptive and expressive outcomes related to parental responsiveness, and parents who produced utterances related to their children's current interest facilitated vocabulary learning in children with autism (Brady et al., 2014; McDuffie & Yoder, 2010)

Another study found that second-generation fluently bilingual students reported better relations with their families than those who were monolingual did (Portes & Hao, 2002). On the other hand, if someone is unable to communicate in a common language with his relatives, this could strain their relationship. Wright (2007) found that children may begin to lose respect for their parents, and parents may lose their authority. In this study, students in a Cambodian community believed their parents were not good role models, because they could not help them with their schooling or decision-making in life. Cho and Krashen (1998) also report this gap in communication causing strained relationships with parents. The researchers interviewed university students about this subject:

'It's frustrating when I'm speaking with my parents and we can't fully comprehend what we're trying to say to each other. I hate it when I eat dinner with my parents and they always carry on their own conversation that I can only half understand. Yet, they complain that we don't eat as a family enough.'

If the parent and child do not speak the same language, the relationship can lead to violence; this is demonstrated in a study by Wong-Fillmore (1991). Two cases are reported in which the language barrier led to violence: a Vietnamese father who beat his children for using impolite speech with their grandparents, and a son who refused to acknowledge his mother when she spoke Spanish to him and hit her when frustrated by their inability to communicate.

In his study of Italians and Moroccans in Flanders, Belgium, Clycq (2015) found an interesting link between heritage language maintenance and grandparents. The strategy developed by Italian and Moroccan parents concerns the specific importance they attach to 'childcare'. For these parents, it is important that their children be raised by their grandparents. It also ensures their bond with them. The following narrative confirms how difficult it is when grandparents are unable to communicate with their grandchildren:

'My daughter and son went to a Belgian crèche so that was totally in Dutch. The advantage is that their Dutch is very good from the start but their knowledge of Berber is zero [...] Because for my mother and mother-in-law it is very difficult. They say: we can't talk to them. And they have to be able to fulfil their roles as grandmother. They want to do it but they can't communicate with them.'

Another example of the importance of the bond with grandparents is provided by a young woman with a Filipino background:

'I wish I could speak Tagalog to my grandparents. There is this language barrier and it keeps them [from] understanding how I'm growing up here in America and it keeps me from understanding how their lives unfolded in the Philippines' (BuzzFeed Yellow, 2016).

2.2 FROM MAINTANENCE TO SHIFT

The previous paragraphs showed that the benefits of bilingualism and heritage language development are essential and wide ranging. In addition to supporting family cohesion, heritage language development has a significant impact on one's self-identity and self-esteem and affects someone's position in society. Knowing an additional language, such as a heritage language, enhances employment opportunities and improves cognitive abilities and academic skills. The next paragraph will discuss why it is sometimes difficult for children to maintain or learn their heritage language, despite the numerous benefits it has and the efforts made to retain it.

2.3 LANGUAGE SHIFT

Li (2000) defines language shift as 'a process in which a speech community gives up a language in favour of another.' It has been studied by many researchers from a wide range of disciplines, with diverse approaches and perspectives. Many studies have found that language shift among immigrant minorities is typically completed within three generations (Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 1995; Kitson, 1999).

There are many reasons for language shift. It can be approached by level, such as the political, economic, psychological, and sociolinguistic levels. Listing all of these reasons is impossible because the factors interact and intermingle in a complicated equation. A list would only distinguish the more important factors in language shifts, but would not reveal all of the processes (Baker, 2011).

Garcia and Diaz (1992) propose a frequent and generalised scenario for immigrants:

'Most US immigrant groups have experienced a language shift to English as a consequence of assimilation into American life. The first generation immigrants sustain their native or first language while learning English. The second generation, intent upon assimilation into a largely English-speaking community, begin the shift towards English by using the native language with first generation speakers (parents, grandparents, others) and English in more formal settings. By slow degrees, English is used in contexts once reserved for the first language.'

Immigrants in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia, for example, were expected to give up their past identity and make a commitment to a new national identity, because it was believed that they were pleased to have escaped political oppression or economic disadvantage, and that they would embrace personal freedom and the possibility to develop themselves (Baker,

2011). Especially in the United States, census data show that many immigrants learn English rapidly, often adopting English as their primary and preferred language, even abandoning the use of their mother tongue and rearing their children in English only (Veltman, 2000; Salaberry 2009).

Tannenbaum (2005) analysed the link between past and present family relations, and home language maintenance among immigrant families in Australia in terms of psychological motives and emotional aspects. Tannenbaum (2005) brings several examples of immigrant narratives, reflecting a tendency to build a barrier between their painful childhood experiences in their country of origin and their present 'rehabilitation' in the host country through the loss of the first language and shifting to the second language in family communication. Okita (2002) also describes the phenomenon of native language avoidance, by studying Japanese mothers in the United Kingdom who were married to English men. These mothers decided to only use English with their children. The reasons for which parents do not speak their native language with their children are related to their attitudes and personal experiences with ethnicity.

In a 1998 Miami-San Diego survey, 72% of immigrant students indicated that they preferred to use English as their primary language, and less than one-third of the second-generation students could proficiently speak, understand, read, and write their parents' language (Portes & Hao, 1998). More often than not, for children in the United States, learning English means abandoning one's home language (Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

According to Cummins (2000) and Norton-Peirce (1995), 'language is a social practice practiced amid unequal relations of power'. In most countries, the majority language (such as English in the United States) is the language of power, status, and dominance. Parents realise this. In order to give their children access to opportunities that are out of the parents' own reach, or to protect their children from discrimination that they themselves may have faced, most immigrant parents encourage their children to learn the majority language as quickly as possible (Tse, 2001; Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Unfortunately, many parents mistakenly believe that the way to do this is to avoid speaking the heritage language with their children (Tse, 2001). Immigrant parents often do not understand how quickly language shift can take place. How can children forget their home language? Before they realise what has happened, it is often too late to rectify the situation (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Even if parents do actively promote their heritage language, children catch on quickly when they go to school: if they want to belong and succeed, they need to learn the dominant majority language.

Not only is the majority language used by teachers, principals, and other authority figures; it is also the language of social acceptance (Tse, 2001; Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Wright & Bougie, 2007; Wright & Taylor, 1995). Peer groups are extremely influential over one's behaviours and attitudes: we all want

to identify with groups that we view as desirable (Tse, 2001). In American schools, the desirable language group is English speaking. Tse (2001) illustrates the point with an example from a middle school in California where the majority of students were Latino. In the school, there were two distinct groups of students: those who spoke fluent English and those who still struggled to learn English. Even though 95% of the students shared similar cultural and ethnic backgrounds, it was their English language abilities that determined their status. Those with the poorest English had the lowest status.

Children often adopt mainstream society's negative opinions of minority or immigrant languages. Their heritage languages are seen as useless, inferior, or even subversive (Cummins, 2005). In order to distance themselves from these undesirable characteristics, children avoid using their home language and shun their heritage culture (Tse, 1998). This phenomenon can have a devastating impact on students' personal and collective self-esteem (Wright & Taylor, 1995).

2.4 HERITAGE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS IN GENERAL

A variety of heritage language schools exist that have been studied by other researchers. A short review of these studies is helpful, because it illustrates the importance of such schools but also the problems that they face. Different terms are in use to refer to this form of education. In Britain alone several terms exist, such as community language education, supplementary schools, complementary schools, and out of hours learning (Martin, 2007). Based on discussions with educators in the United States and Australia, Hornberger (2005) adopts the term 'heritage/community language education'. Nearly all of the schools examined in these studies were sponsored by concerned parents, places of worship, or community associations (Creese, et al., 2006; Liao & Larke, 2008; Shibata, 2000; Tran, 2008). Generally, classes were held for a few hours on a Saturday, Sunday, or after school, in the church or temple, at a community cultural centre, on a college campus, or sometimes in public schools (Creese, et al., 2006; Liao & Larke, 2008; Shibata, 2000; Tran 2008). Many of the schools had fewer than 50 pupils. Most of the students were elementary school aged, some were in middle school, and most students were commonly second-generation immigrants (Creese, et al., 2006; Liao & Larke, 2008; Tran, 2008).

According to Verma et al. (1994), the initial aim of community language education is to strengthen 'cultural and religious identity in the face of the threat of cultural assimilation'. Hall et al. (2002) take this further by making reference to the roles that such schools play in 'correcting' the 'subtractive' approach to learning language in the mainstream sector. Much of the work that is available on heritage language schools shows that ethnic minority children benefit from their multilingualism and the bilingual opportunities that the schools provide. For example, Hall et al. (2002) note how

attendance at supplementary schools provides ‘a way of reclaiming the specificity of cultural and social identity [...] missing from mainstream schooling’. In their comparative study of provision, purposes, and pedagogy of supplementary schooling in Leeds (United Kingdom) and Oslo (Norway), they found that supplementary education ‘imbues its participants with a sense of belonging to a community that supports them practically, culturally, socially, emotionally and spiritually’ (Hall et al. 2002).

Apart from a few language groups (Chinese and Korean in the United States) that have been able to establish national heritage language school organisations, most other language groups do not seem to have any similar organisations. Most schools that have been studied in the literature are community efforts and have limited funding and resources, and heavily rely on donations and volunteers. Some schools have to charge tuition fees to pay for materials and facility rentals (Li, 2005; Liao & Larke, 2008; Shibata, 2000; Tran, 2008), while others are able to obtain financial support from local companies and corporations (Li, 2005; Shibata, 2000). When parents enrol their children, they are often expected to help with administration, teaching, and fundraising for the school (Li, 2005; Shibata, 2000). Most of the teachers at the schools are parent, community, or student volunteers who have little training in teaching, while in some schools teachers do have a teaching background, but cannot assist in the majority language (Creese, et. al, 2006; Li, 2005; Liao & Larke, 2008; Tran, 2008).

In addition to reading, writing, and speaking, most heritage language schools offer cultural activities such as folklore, art, music, and dance. Some of the schools teach the heritage culture’s history, geography, folktales, and songs (Liao & Larke, 2008; Tran, 2008). This is not surprising, as some schools are part of an ethnic community cultural centre. As behaviour and ways of thinking are also a part of a culture, some schools try to reinforce them through teaching methods. Archer, Francis, and Mau (2009) and Octu (2010) found that teachers at certain heritage language schools that they investigated used methods such as discipline, silence, filial piety, and obedience to impart culturally valued behaviours. The researchers (2010) report that this approach to teaching often did not resonate with students. The second- and third-generation Chinese students in their study enjoyed using Chinese language to watch Chinese films and television programs, to read Chinese anime, and stay up to date on celebrities via blogs and online forums. Memorising written characters and reading textbook passages about traditional Chinese life, on the other hand, did not interest them. The study notes ‘the paradox arising that first generational attempts to “preserve,” “save” and instil (particular versions of) “Chineseness” may be alienating many second and third generation young people’. Several schools studied in the literature offer mainstream school subjects, such as math and science, and some use textbooks from the home country for this purpose (Francis, et al., 2009; Liao &

Larke, 2008; Tran, 2008). Although students are being taught subjects such as biology at the heritage language school, there is still little contact between the mainstream schools and the heritage language schools. According to Hornberger and Wang (2009), there seems to be a 'don't ask, don't tell' policy between public schools and the heritage language schools. They do not ask the mainstream schools for support, and the mainstream schools do not offer it.

2.5 HERITAGE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS EXPERIENCED BY PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND STUDENTS

Several studies have explored the motivation of parents, students, and teachers involved in heritage language schools (Francis et al., 2009, 2010; Liao & Larke, 2008; Shibata, 2000; You, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Zhou & Kim, 2006). The most common reason parents and teachers give to maintain heritage language schools is to carry on the language and culture (Creese, et al., 2006; Francis et al., 2010; Liao & Larke, 2008; Tran, 2008; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Noro (1997) conducted surveys in Canada about teaching children Japanese through heritage language schools. The results of the study indicate that there are six main reasons for the first generation of Japanese immigrants to teach their native language to their children through school: 1) to communicate with their children; 2) to preserve parental authority; 3) to have pride in their Japanese ethnicity; 4) to understand both cultures; 5) to have an advantage for a future career; and 6) to communicate with relatives and people in Japan. In a study by Creese et al. (2006), one parent expressed her reason for sending her child to a Gujarati heritage language school:

'Our children learn English and other languages in school [...] yet they don't have any awareness of their own language and are illiterate in terms of reading/writing Gujarati. Our children know why they celebrate Easter, New Years, Christmas but don't know why Hindus celebrate festivals such as Holi. Learning Gujarati opens up doors and knowledge about our cultures, customs. If our children are aware of them then there is a chance our grandchildren will also know about them and pass them on to future generations.'

Parents are also concerned with their children being able to communicate with them, with their grandparents, and with relatives in the community, or when they go back to their home country to visit (Liao & Larke, 2008; Shibata, 2000; Tran, 2008; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Francis et al. (2010) found that some of the heritage language teachers that they surveyed saw their role as helping children to understand their parents' thinking in order to reduce friction in the family, such as was mentioned in the paragraph about family cohesion. Some parents and teachers felt that children would regret not learning their heritage language when they were older (Francis et al., 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Furthermore these studies suggested that some parents and

teachers saw the heritage language schools as a place where children and students from the same community could meet and talk about their experiences with having a different background. Several parents and teachers reflected an awareness of racial prejudice and the power differential between their culture and the dominant society. Teachers therefore saw the heritage language school as a refuge from marginalisation and racism (Francis et al., 2010). Teachers and parents felt that one aim of the heritage language school was to boost students' self-esteem and pride, and that teaching them their heritage language and culture could help them against the racism that they would face in the dominant culture (Francis et al., 2010).

Without students, heritage language schools would not exist. Therefore it is also important to mention their views on these schools, even though students are not the focus in this thesis. Just as it is difficult to provide an adequate definition of the term 'heritage language', much debate has also surrounded the characterisation of the heritage learner. Defined by Van Deusen-Scholl (2003), 'heritage language learners comprise a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed but who may feel culturally connected to a language.' Reasons for learning the language are diverse: they could be personal (an immigrant student seeking to communicate with relatives), they may reflect community values, they could be religious, or they could stem from a larger, societal desire to maintain or revitalise a language (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003). A distinction can be made between 'heritage learners' and 'learners with a heritage motivation'. Van Deusen-Scholl (1998) defines 'heritage learners [as] students who have been exposed to another language in the home and have either attained some degree of bilingual proficiency or have been raised with a strong cultural connection to a particular language through family interaction.' Learners with a heritage motivation 'may perceive a cultural connection that is more distant than that of, for example, first- or second-generation immigrants', according to Van Deusen-Scholl (1998). Such students seek to reconnect with their family's heritage, through foreign language classes for example, even though the linguistic evidence of that connection may have been lost for generations (Van Deusen-Scholl, 1998).

As with anything, individual students react differently to attending heritage language schools. A number of factors influence their motivation: the students' personalities; their confidence in their heritage language abilities; their overall attitude towards their background and culture; and the structure and curriculum of the school. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found that younger children seem to enjoy going to the weekend heritage language schools, but as they grow older, they begin to resist attending. This could be because the younger children spend more time playing and singing, while the older students have more seated work, or have to learn complicated characters for some languages. Additionally, the academic requirements in the mainstream schools become more

demanding, and students may become more involved in extra-curricular activities. An American woman with a Hindi background explains:

'The daily stuff like getting through school, doing extra-curricular, keeping grades up... unfortunately has been a higher priority in my life for survival, than the language I should know' (BuzzFeed Yellow, 2016).

In a study, one student reported that learning Chinese was 'tedious' and saw 'no point in doing it if I'm not going to do anything [with it] in my future' (Francis, et al., 2009). Cho et al. (1997) report one example of a Korean college student who said that the heritage language school expected pupils to enter with a certain level of proficiency, which he did not possess. This was a frustrating, disheartening experience, which he had to undergo each week throughout his childhood. In several studies, many of the students who attended heritage language schools reported feeling forced by their parents to attend, which caused them to miss free time to spend with their friends (Francis, et al., 2009; Tse, 2001; You, 2005; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study was designed to explore the perspectives of parents with children who attend Serbian language schools in the Netherlands. In order to understand why they send their children to these Serbian schools, I surveyed and interviewed parents while keeping the primary and secondary questions in mind.

The primary question of this research was: what motivates parents to send their children to Serbian heritage language schools? I tried to find an answer to this question using several secondary questions: 1) Do parents have distinctive objectives? 2) Do parents from a mixed marriage/background (Serbian-Dutch/other) have different motives than parents from a non-mixed marriage/only a Serbian background? 3) Are parents satisfied with the heritage language schools? Do the schools successfully fulfil their objectives? 4) Do parents think that the heritage language schools should interact with mainstream schools?

The following paragraphs will introduce the participants and schools studied, and will describe the methods and procedure that I used to answer my research questions.

3.2 RESEARCH OVERVIEW AND PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

My research had two parts. First, I went to the only three Serbian schools in the Netherlands to talk with teachers and 'executive' staff. I interviewed them to obtain more information about the history of the schools and how they function. I asked if I could send questionnaires to the parents of children attending the schools in order to gain an overall picture of participants' opinions. Then, in order to gather more qualitative data, I organised interviews with parents (individual or in groups) at each Serbian school. I chose the Serbian schools because no previous research has been conducted on these schools in this manner, and because of my background, as described in the first chapter.

The study drew from the three Serbian schools in the Netherlands that are known by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Serbia, the Serbian embassy in the Netherlands, and the Dutch organisation De Taalstudio. The following information was collected by interviewing the three 'principals' of the schools: Mrs Nada Čanak, Mr Slaviša Jovanović, and Mr Nikola Terzić.

The first school is called 'SKC Vuk Karadžić' and is situated in Rotterdam. It started operating under this name in 1992, after the Yugoslav school in Rotterdam was dismantled. Currently, 20 pupils attend this school, but numbers vary. Students attend class every Saturday for 3.5 hours. They are

divided into three groups, depending on their age and their level of knowledge of the Serbian language. The teachers have a pedagogical background and have to know Dutch. The schoolbooks are in Serbian, but Dutch material is also used to help the children. Besides language, children learn about the culture and history of Serbia. Other activities are also organised, such as folklore, sporting events, and field trips. The schoolboard is selected by parents, who also occasionally have meetings about the functioning of the school. The school receives no financial aid from the Serbian or Dutch government. Parents pay a monthly contribution for their child to attend.

The second school is 'Stefan Nemanja' in Utrecht, and was founded in 2011 (but was previously a part of the Yugoslav schools in the Netherlands). Fourteen pupils attended the school at the time of writing. This number has fluctuated between 10 and 20 over the past few years. Classes are held twice a month on a Saturday and last three hours. There are two groups: one for beginners, and one for children who already have some knowledge of the language. The two teachers have a language teaching background and both can assist the children in Dutch. Subjects are the Serbian language, history, and culture. Materials and schoolbooks are bought in Serbia. Other activities, such as folklore dancing, are also organised. Parents form the heart of the organisation and discuss its ins and outs. The school is financed by the parents' contribution.

'Vuk Stefanović Karadžić' is the third school and is situated in Amsterdam. It (re)opened in 2014. At the time of writing, 12 pupils learn about the Serbian language, folklore, and history every Sunday from 10:30 to 13:30. Groups are formed based on language knowledge. All of the teachers, trained in Serbia, have to know Dutch in order to help the children, but the primary language during classes is Serbian. Therefore, all textbooks are bought in Serbia. The school is part of a larger Serbian community centre, for which parents pay. Just as the other schools, this one does not receive financial aid from Serbia or the Netherlands either.

3.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH PARADIGM

A descriptive study can be either quantitative or qualitative (Gay & Airasian, 2000). In this study, I investigated parents' motives and opinions, and I did not try to determine any correlation or causal relationships. In most respects, my study was more qualitative than quantitative. I was the primary instrument for data collection and analysis and made decisions about which data were and were not relevant to my question (Merriam, 2009). However, I still used mixed methods, because doing so increases the strength of the results when both quantitative and qualitative methods are used (Dörnyei, 2007). 'Mixed methods also improve research validity, they allow a multi-level analysis of complex issues by converging numeric trends from quantitative data and specific details from qualitative data' (Dörnyei, 2007).

The survey, a quantitative research method, is useful for collecting biographical information on speakers, and quantifiable data on language abilities, practices, and attitudes (Codó, 2009). My survey allowed me to reach a larger sample of parents than through focus groups alone. It helped me to determine attitudes towards the language and how the language is maintained. Unfortunately, the number of participants in my research was too small, and my results can consequently not be generalised to a larger population (Duff, 2006). However, I used basic descriptive statistics to present the results of the survey, and because of the small number of respondents, it is accepted to present those results in the form of percentages (Włosowicz, 2014).

The primary question I aimed to answer was why parents sent their children to the Serbian schools and why those reasons were important to them. The use of interviews, a qualitative research method, allowed me to further explore the thoughts and opinions of a smaller sample of parents, which provided insight into why parents marked survey answers the way that they did. I conducted one-to-one interviews as well as group interviews. Group interviews help to alleviate the tension generated by the one-to-one interviews. In addition, interviewees may feel freer and be more forthcoming among peers. My goal was to create interaction within the group, so that I could hear different opinions on certain issues; I therefore encouraged the interviewees to refine arguments (Codó, 2009). One benefit of a focus group is that the researcher can gather much information in a short period of time (Morgan, 1997). Most of the analysis was based on participant comments on the surveys and during interviews, from which I drew the major themes. Much of the data in Chapter Four are presented as statements from parents, supporting the survey data.

3.4 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Before starting my research, I contacted the schools to ask whether the parents would like to participate in my study. The schools invited me to visit the schools and present my idea. I did not reveal the purpose or the content of my study, but I am familiar with the target group and I knew that it would help to introduce myself and tell the parents about my background. While visiting the schools and observing the parents, I already noticed that almost all parents had a Serbian background, and a few were married to a Dutch person.

I asked the parents whether they would prefer a paper version or a digital version of the questionnaire. All parents agreed on a digital version. Because the survey is anonymous, the teacher who had all parents' email addresses redirected my email with the link to the parents. Parents willing to participate in the interviews were asked to provide their contact information on a separate form. This procedure was repeated at all three schools. The link to the survey was accessible from

November 2015 to February 2016. However, parents were told that they could always contact me if they were interested in participating after the deadline.

Only 21 questionnaires were filled in completely and were used for this study. The results will be discussed in Chapter Four.

3.4.1 Content of the questionnaire

Dörnyei (2003) notes that surveys are an efficient way to gather much information in a short amount of time. I chose to use a survey in order to reach the greatest number of parents and to obtain an overall picture of the opinions of parents at each school. The numerical information allowed me to report the most common reasons for which parents sent their children to Serbian schools.

I used an online tool called Survey Gizmo to build my questionnaire. The questionnaires and all other forms were set up in Serbian with Dutch translations when required. Appendix A includes the questionnaire, Appendix B presents the form for parents willing to participate in the interviews, and Appendix C provides the interview questions.

My questions were based on research by others who have studied parents' motivations for sending children to heritage language schools (Francis, et al., 2010; Liao & Larke, 2008; Shibata, 2000; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Zhou & Kim, 2006). The survey included close-ended Likert-scale, multiple-choice, and open-ended questions. When parents clicked the link, the first page showed instructions regarding the questionnaire. I explained that, in case both partners in a couple had the same background (Serbian), only one parent should fill out the questionnaire. However, if one of the parents was Dutch/other, then both parents should fill out the same questionnaire: the Serbian parent should answer the first part, and the Dutch/other parent the second part, which was aimed at that group.

In the first part of the questionnaire, I asked a few basic questions about the participants' background. These questions included the following: 1) are you the mother or father?; 2) when did you move to the Netherlands?; 3) what is the age of your child(ren)?; 4) Have your children ever been to Serbia?; Who speaks Serbian in your family?; 5) Which language do you use with your child?; and 6) Which language does your child use when speaking to you?. These questions were based on a survey I designed with colleagues during my internship at the Sintrum Frysktalige Berne-opfang to study language transmission within the Dutch province of Friesland.

After this section, participants were asked to mark the column that best expressed their reasons for sending their child to Serbian school, 1 being not at all important and 4 being extremely important. I included 12 reasons based on the reasons parents had given in similar studies (Francis, et al., 2010;

Liao & Larke, 2008; Shibata, 2000; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Then, general questions followed about the Serbian heritage language school. I asked parents to identify the most important reason for sending their child to the school, and to comment on why that was important to them. I also asked parents to rate and explain how much they felt that their child had benefited from attending, and whether they spent time learning Serbian at home.

The second part of the questionnaire was designed for a Dutch/other background. I asked whether this parent knew (some) Serbian besides Dutch or his or her native language, and whether he or she used Serbian at home. In an open question, the parent was asked to provide the most important reason for sending his or her child to Serbian school. The last questions in the survey were statements about raising a child bilingually which parents had to rate on a Likert scale.

3.5 THE INTERVIEWS

After collecting and analysing the survey, I asked the parents who were willing to participate in the interviews to agree on a date. It was difficult to arrange this, and only a few parents volunteered. I managed to organise one group interview with five parents. However, Merriam (2009) suggests that a focus group should have 6 to 10 participants. The other three interviews were in an individual setting.

The focus group was intended to help me understand what the survey results truly meant, and much of my analysis was based on comments from parents in the focus group. Using suggestions from Merriam (2009), I designed a list of questions that addressed my research question. I also adjusted those questions to the responses in the completed surveys. Some questions arose during the interviews, because the participants touched upon a new interesting topic that I had not expect to come up. Therefore, the interviews were a mixture of fixed questions and naturally evolved questions. All interviews except for one (with a Dutch parent) were in Serbian. I recorded all of the interviews with a Dictaphone, with the permission of the parents.

In addition to conducting these interviews, I also attended several extra-curricular activities, which provided me with opportunities to speak with the parents. I asked for permission to make notes if an interesting point was made, but I tried to keep it as informal as possible, because of the nature of my attendance as a guest.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS & DISCUSSION

This chapter will present and discuss the results of this study. Its purpose was to understand the motivations of parents who send their children to weekend heritage language schools. The chapter presents the survey responses (illustrated in charts and tables) combined with the results from the interviews, because these results supplement the survey data. Before discussing the results and discussion, however, it is important to mention that all of the parents were considered as one 'group', and not as individuals belonging to one of the three schools. This is because the schools function according to the same principles and because I am not evaluating the schools' performance. Instead, I am looking at parents' motives, regardless of the school where their child is registered. Moreover, the Serbian community is scattered across the country and local communities vary in size. Furthermore, the three schools differ in number of enrolled pupils.

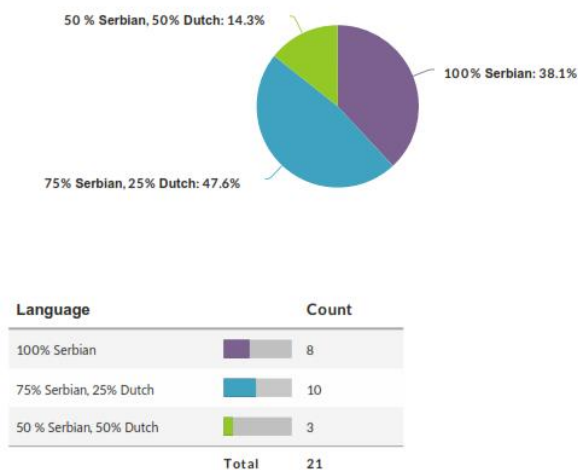
4.1 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Role	Count
Mother	16
Father	5
Total	21

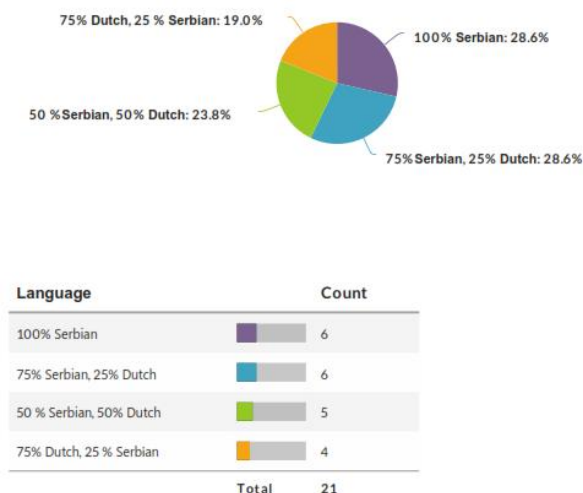
Table 2 Number of questionnaire participants

Twenty-one parents filled in the survey; the majority were women. Although this study did not aim to answer the question of which sex is more concerned with transmitting the heritage language, it is remarkable to see that mothers seemed to be more interested in participating than fathers were. During the interviews, I asked if the parents could explain this. I will return to this topic when discussing the languages used at home. Most of the parents (17) settled in the Netherlands as adults, one moved as a child, and three were born in the Netherlands. One of the interviewed parents moved to the Netherlands before the 1990s to find a job. She explained how difficult it is to become a part of the society if one does not know to speak the language. For that reason, she had to learn Dutch, which opened doors. Even though she doubts that her child will ever move back to Serbia, she wants him to know the language just in case. *'If he would find a job over there, he would benefit from knowing the Serbian language. Life's cheaper in that country [...] Yes of course, he'll be able to communicate with his family, but you know... it is all about money nowadays [laughs], knowing some languages is an advantage.'*

The results of the survey indicate that the parents had a total of 36 children enrolled in a Serbian school when the study was conducted. The youngest was four years old, and the oldest was 20 years old. Five children were born in Serbia, and most (27) had visited Serbia at one time.



Graph 1 Language spoken by parent to child



Graph 2 Language spoken by child to parent

Most parents communicated with each other in Serbian. The exceptions were the partners from different backgrounds, who communicated in Dutch only (1) or in English (1) and filled in the second part of the survey. I also asked which language parents use when they speak to their child. The majority mostly uses Serbian, but Dutch is always present. The parents indicated that they sometimes feel that it is necessary to speak Dutch with their child. A parent explained that this usually occurs when the child's friends are staying over and he needs to correct his child's behaviour. *'I want the others to hear what it's about; if I'd use Serbian in this case, I wouldn't be seen as an authority.'* Another parent indicated that it is appropriate to speak the language of the majority (Dutch) when spending time with Dutch speakers; using Serbian would seem like hiding something, or gossiping. Some parents said that it is easier to express themselves in Dutch sometimes, because their child has a limited knowledge of Serbian in certain domains. One mother illustrated this as follows: *'Even though it is hard for me to explain things in Dutch, because it'll sound weird... I'm used to certain expressions in Serbian.. I have to say it in Dutch, otherwise my daughter wouldn't understand it. You know, when helping her with school stuff... I don't want to confuse her.'* While parents prefer Serbian, their children prefer Dutch to Serbian. This is understandable, since it is the language with which they grew up and which they use in the mainstream schools. However, parents try to stimulate the use of Serbian. Besides Dutch homework, the children also have to complete assignments for their Serbian class. This is an opportunity for the parents to talk about topics to which they can relate. Furthermore, parents stressed that they want to be able to communicate with their child in the home language to strengthen their family ties. Several researchers have revealed

this sentiment: little deep conversation between parents and children can take place if the child is not proficient in the heritage language (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

The most important question that the parents were asked to answer regarded their reasons for enrolling their child at the Serbian heritage language school. I present their responses below, beginning with the motivations that received the most attention.

4.1.2 Transmitting culture and language

As can be seen in Table 3, survey questions related to traditions, culture, history, and language scored higher than other questions did. Many survey respondents commented that they want their children to ‘know where they came from,’ and to ‘know where their roots were.’ During the

	Not a reason	Somewhat important	Important	Extremely important	
Being bilingual has cognitive benefits for my child	2 9.5%	2 9.5%	11 52.4%	6 28.6%	21
I wanted my child to learn Serbian traditions	1 4.8%	1 4.8%	14 66.7%	5 23.8%	21
I wanted my child to learn about the Serbian culture	1 4.8%	1 4.8%	14 66.7%	5 23.8%	21
I wanted my child to learn about Serbia's history	1 4.8%	2 9.5%	13 61.9%	5 23.8%	21
I wanted my child to be able to speak to family	3 14.3%	0 0.0%	5 23.8%	13 61.9%	21
I wanted my child to be able to communicate when we travel to Serbia	2 9.5%	0 0.0%	6 28.6%	13 61.9%	21
I wanted my child to be a fluent Serbian speaker	2 9.5%	0 0.0%	7 33.3%	12 57.1%	21
I wanted my child to know how to read and write Serbian	0 0.0%	1 4.8%	6 28.6%	14 66.7%	21
I wanted my child to be around other Serbian children	1 4.8%	3 14.3%	8 38.1%	9 42.9%	21
I wanted my child to be proud of his/her Serbian heritage	2 9.5%	1 4.8%	9 42.9%	9 42.9%	21
I wanted my child to learn about our religion	3 14.3%	5 23.8%	9 42.9%	4 19.0%	21
I thought it would help my child to be a better student in his/her mainstream school	5 23.8%	7 33.3%	5 23.8%	4 19.0%	21

Table 3 Reasons for enrolling a child at the Serbian schools

interviews, a short time was spent discussing the topic of culture and traditions. The parents value the schools’ efforts to organise extra-curricular events such as traditional Serbian dance and folklore evenings in which the children participate. One mother responded: *‘If you want to learn things about Serbia, you should know the language to do that. You need to understand Serbian, so you can learn about culture, music, literature, food etcetera. And it’s best if you do that in the source language of course. So language and culture, they are definitely inseparable.’* One

parent mentioned that, *‘It would help my child to fit into the Dutch society, which has many different people from all cultures. [...] Here in Rotterdam, we live in a multicultural city. If you feel comfortable with your own background, you don’t have to worry about others’* [backgrounds]. This is in line with Soh’s (1992) findings. A child who has positive attitudes towards his or her own ethnic group also has more positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups (Soh, 1992).

During the interviews, parents said that they also expect their children to pass on their language, culture, and history to the next generation. *'One day, they [the children] will have children. Maybe they will live here, or somewhere far away... but they'll always be a bit Serbian. They have to know that. [...] I hope my daughter will explain to her kids, one day, why their nanna speaks a weird language. And then my grandchildren will learn about Serbia too, no matter where they are.'*

These findings are not surprising, as they are in line with the aforementioned results of others who have studied the motivations of parents who send their children to heritage language schools (Creese, et al., 2006; Francis, et al., 2010; Liao & Larke, 2008; Shibata, 2000; Tran, 2008; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009).

4.1.3 Strengthening identity and religion

Culture and history lead to the question of being proud of the Serbian background. In total, 18 parents found this to be an important to extremely important reason for enrolling their child at the school. Due to their delicate and complicated nature, the topic of the Yugoslav Wars from 1991 to 2001 was avoided as much as possible. Nevertheless, it played an enormous role in most parents' lives. A father expressed the aftermaths of the war as a struggle and search for a new identity.

'It was difficult... the past 25 years, Serbia was always mentioned in a negative context. The Serbian nation is often regarded with suspicion and antipathy. Milošević, Srebrenica... Like all Serbs were responsible for what happened... that's insane... it's not an entire nation's fault [...] We left our country because of what was going on there. We didn't ask for it [...] and now we need to be proud of Serbia and our background, to show others we are more than just people from a country with a rough history. Our children should know that too.' This sentiment was echoed by other parents, and I know it from my personal contact with the Serbian diaspora community.

Religion is considered a part of Serbian culture and history. For example, Saint Sava is widely considered as one of the most important figures in Serbian history. Saint Sava is the protector of the Serb people: he is venerated as a protector of churches, families, schools, and artisans. Sava is regarded as the founder of Serbian medieval literature. Thus, language and religion are closely linked, and for that reason the parents believe that it is important that their children know about the Serbian Orthodox religion. In addition, many parents mentioned that they often visit the Serbian Orthodox churches in the Netherlands and that they want their children to learn about the Christian values at Serbian school, since they feel that those are lacking in mainstream schools. At Serbian school, they can learn fundamental moral lessons. One mother added that at Serbian school the teachers correct students' immoral behaviour and are stricter than the teachers at Dutch schools. Parents who grew up in Yugoslavia before the 1990s said that they are happy that their children can

learn about religion at school, because *'it wasn't a subject at school during the Socialist regime, when we grew up, religion was something you'd talk about at home.'* A mother added, *'after the split-up of Yugoslavia, we were searching for our own identity... So I'm Serbian now, how should I deal with that? [...]* While in Yugoslavia practicing religion was discouraged, now we are free and able to find our identity in religion.'

As was discussed in Chapter Two, language, identity, and self-esteem are closely intertwined. Juul (2011) found that passing on the Serbian language to the next generation is a part of a revival of traditional and chauvinist values justified by Serbia's nationalist and conservative ideology in the 1990s. Juul (2011) illustrates these values as 'a greater openness towards religious matters and a revived interest in origins, nationality and ethnicity, as well as an ideological celebration of the family as a core institution in society.' Furthermore, because Serbs have limited ways to contest the stereotyped image of the Balkan countries 'as a perpetual powder keg and the site of ancient ethnic divisions and hatreds,' (Juul, 2011) folk dancing, traditional food, sports (tennis), and promoting the country as an unexplored holiday destination are now among the few activities through which they can become visible as a group.

Schrauf (1999) suggests that religious practice in the native language is a principal factor associated with passing on the heritage language into the next generation. The results of my study indicate that, besides learning about their religion in Serbian school, many children also attend Serbian Orthodox masses with their parents. Therefore, it is possible that the central role of religion in the community could contribute to the preservation of Serbian language into future generations. Juul (2011) comments that it is striking how the most important rites of passage, such as marriage, baptism, and burial, still continue to take place in the homeland, Serbia. Van Gorp and Smets (2015) found that the current Serbian organisations are much more centred around issues of identity and religion than around governmental issues. Pryke (2003) found that Orthodoxy and the folk tradition are central to the cultural experience of second-generation Serbs in diaspora. He further indicates that this reflects an implicit historical continuity with the old country of Yugoslavia.

4.1.4 The importance of family communication and language proficiency

Being able to communicate with family members was also an important consideration for Serbian parents when they enrolled their children in Serbian school. This was the second highest rated reason chosen in the survey (tied with reading and writing). Parents shared that it would facilitate their own communication with their children. Furthermore, communication with family members, especially grandparents, is also a top consideration for parents. *'Most of my family lives over there [in Serbia]. They don't know Dutch, yeah a couple of words maybe [laughs]... my children have to learn Serbian so they can communicate with their grandparents and relatives. That's the most important*

for me. I don't want them to be alienated from their Serbian family because they don't know the language.' The two fathers who filled in the part of the survey for non-Serbian parents, both of whom are Dutch, also emphasised that they support their children learning Serbian (even though neither father speaks the language), because they find it important for their children to be able to communicate with their Serbian family. *'She does not only have Dutch grandparents, but also Serbian grandparents. I want her to be able to spend time with both, so I agreed on raising her bilingually. [...] Well actually... it wasn't an agreement, it went naturally.'*

Consistently with the findings of other researchers (Francis, et.al., 2010; Nesteruk, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009), the parents in this study feel that communicating with family members was an important reason for enrolling their children in Serbian school.

The Serbian parents who participated in the study seemed to expect their children to reach advanced levels of language proficiency. The parents think that speaking and reading are more important than writing. One mother wrote that, *'the most important reason for sending my child to this school is so that my son can learn to speak as fluently as possible and so that he can read the Cyrillic script.'*

Another mother indicated that her children had naturally learned to speak Serbian at home, but that she could not properly teach them how to read and write in Serbian. Serbian school could help them to achieve that. One parent indicated that the level of proficiency does not matter to him, so long as his children learned some of the language. *'If they go to this school, at least they'll learn the language. They'll learn the basics, which they'll hopefully never forget, even if they don't learn it well.'*

One specific question was asked only to the non-Serbian parents. There are several approaches to raising a child bilingually. Neither of the Dutch fathers thinks that it is necessary for the Dutch parent to participate in Serbian, or for the Serbian parent to participate in Dutch. *'We think a one-parent, one-language approach works fine. My son is surrounded by enough Serbian people to practice the language with. He thinks it's weird when I try to speak Serbian to him [...]. At the Serbian school, he isn't taught in Dutch either.'* In general, parents commented that their children are too busy with other activities and that they do not have as much time to spend studying Serbian as they should. Another commented that the children are learning to read and write in Serbian, but that they are still much more comfortable communicating in Dutch.

4.1.5 Embracing the benefits of bilingualism

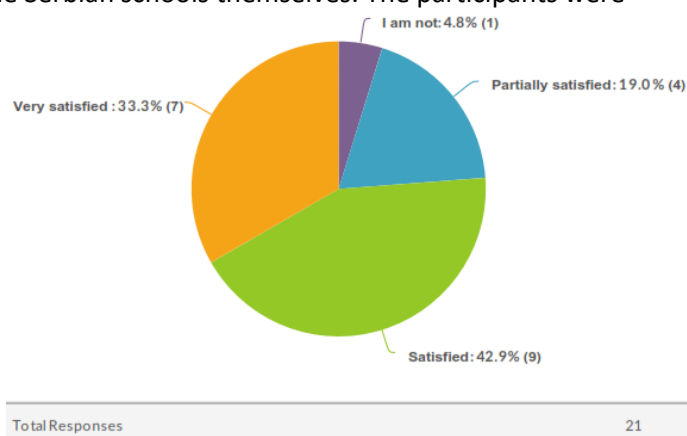
	Percent		Count
No, I do not think so	14.3%		3
Not much	9.5%		2
A little	14.3%		3
Yes, a lot	61.9%		13
Total			21

Table 4 Do you think your child will benefit from attending Serbian school?

When asked whether the benefits of bilingualism were a reason for their child to attend the school, more than 50% answered that it was an important motive. I then repeated the question but in a general way, asking whether the parents think that attending the school might help their child in a cognitive/academic/other way. Thirteen parents answered that they think the school greatly contributes to their children's cognitive/academic/other skills. When asked why, most parents indicated that they are aware of the benefits of bilingualism. *'I heard that learning a second language at an early age will improve his abilities to learn other languages,'* one mother mentioned. Another mother said that she had heard some people claim that it is better when a child learns Dutch only, so that he or she is not confused by other languages. She quickly added that she does not agree with this statement, because she has read much work about how languages positively stimulate the brain. Other participants agreed that going to Serbian school can improve study skills, even though this school is different than mainstream school. *'It helps them to learn... and to know that learning and gaining knowledge is important.'* During the group interview, some parents shared a negative experience they had had when a teacher in Dutch primary school said that their child should focus more on Dutch, because soon the class would start with English, and Serbian might confuse the child in the process of learning English. Parents commented that it is a shame that some teachers and staff at 'consultatiebureaus' (children's health clinics) still think in this way. They said that it would be better if, in the future, the 'consultatiebureaus' could share information about the heritage language schools in the Netherlands. Other parents did indicate that teachers at the mainstream school see that Serbian school has improved their children's concentration, attitude, and skills, and given them an advantage. This is consistent with Cummins's interdependence theory (2000).

4.1.6 Parents' thoughts on the Serbian schools: satisfaction and limitations

The last important questions were about the Serbian schools themselves. The participants were asked whether they are satisfied with the schools. The majority (combining satisfied and very satisfied) are happy with the functioning of the schools. Survey and focus group comments from participants indicated that attending Serbian school helps pupils to become familiar their background, to improve their language, and to communicate with family. Several parents noted that their



Graph 1 Are you satisfied with the Serbian school?

children have developed confidence and pride in their heritage as a result of attending Serbian school. One survey respondent commented that her children 'have become a lot more confident and proud to be who they are, because they are really involved with the Serbian community this way. They have met other children with the same background and seen that they are not the only ones.' Enrolling the children in Serbian school is also a way for the parents to think of their Serbian background, even when abroad. When going on holiday to Serbia, their children had impressed family, friends, and strangers with their ability to speak Serbian, thanks to the heritage school. Several parents also commented that mainstream school teachers had positively commented on the quality of their children's work. One father said, *'the teacher of my son in Dutch school was impressed that he was good thanks to the extra hours on Saturday. The writing, the writing style, the accuracy, it's at a very high level for his age.'* Survey comments included the following: *'Her reading speed in Serbian is the same as Dutch,' 'She has learned to read better, she used to make a lot of mistakes, but now it's almost gone,'* and *'they learn about different things in Serbian books than in Dutch books. They are more curious now and ask more questions.'* One parent commented in the interview that her son now appreciates other languages thanks to his heritage language, because he thinks the way in which it is taught at the Serbian school is enjoyable.

Most parents try to teach their language and culture at home too. However, they recognise their own limitations. One mother acknowledged that her child is more motivated to learn the language when she sees other children and adults speaking Serbian at school. Another mother said that she has limited time at home to sit down and effectively teach everything that the children learn at the Serbian school. One father, on the other hand, expressed the importance of reinforcing the learning at home. *'It's not only about what's going on here. You should also teach and pursue Serbian at*

home. A one-way approach doesn't work. Only both will help a child to learn the language. Because if they only learn it at school, but it isn't used at home for a week, they will certainly lose it. So we try to do as much as possible during the week to keep the language alive.' Most parents indicated that they do this, as shown by the following table. Multiple options could be marked.






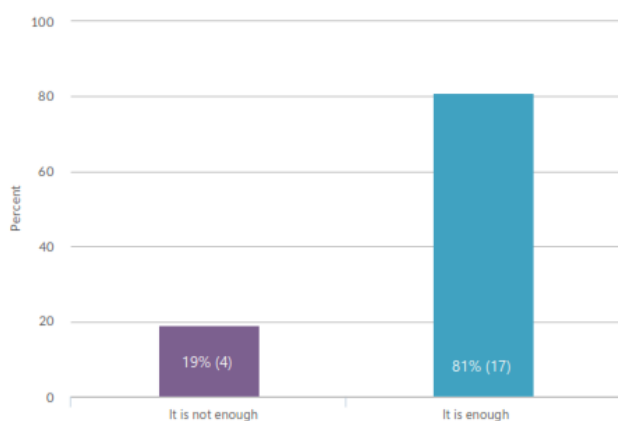
Watching Serbian television programmes		15
Listening Serbian radio programmes		4
Reading Serbian literature/magazines etc.		16
Games in Serbian		11
Other activities		19

Table 5 Activities done at home to practice Serbian

Although the schools meet most of the parents' desires, they still commented on their limitations. A lack of resources was agreed to be a major limitation: the schools have limited money for programming. Even though parents pay a small fee every month, it is not enough to reach maximum efficiency. Furthermore, it can be difficult to find enough qualified and willing volunteers to teach classes, which limits the number of classes that the schools can have. Consequently, some parents said that their children cannot study at a higher level; they will therefore have to stop attending before they would like to. Parents suggested that the mainstream schools and the government should recognise the work being done at these schools. *'As you already know, these schools were booming a couple of decades ago. Until 2004, they functioned like normal schools. But then the country, the Dutch government stopped paying attention to these schools. And now we are struggling to keep the place going. And it's such a shame. These schools positively contribute to this country.'* Despite the lack of external aid, all parents said that they help the schools as much as they can.

Parents also blame themselves for some limitations. Although a stunning majority indicated that is enough for their children to spend approximately three hours once a week or twice a month at Serbian school, the reason is not because they truly think that this is enough to learn the language. Many parents said that their children already have many other things to do besides mainstream



Graph 2 What do you think of the amount of time the children have to go to Serbian school?

activities and obligations.

school and Serbian school. *'My daughter plays hockey, that's after class on Saturday, my son plays football just before class starts. They are both Scouts. I'm always driving to some place to drop them off... sometimes it looks like there isn't a weekend at all.'* Other interviewed parents recognised this routine. They said that sometimes motivating their children to go to Serbian school is a challenge. Children want to have some free time in between all of the

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 STUDY LIMITATIONS

A few limitations of this study should be considered. Because I am familiar with the history and culture of Serbian people, it was difficult for me to remain neutral. But, because of my knowledge of the recent Serbian history, I knew which questions should be avoided. As mentioned in Chapter Three, I did not want the Yugoslav Wars to become the main topic in my thesis. Writing about the effects of this war on the Serbian/Yugoslav community in the Netherlands would be beyond the scope of this thesis. A second limitation was the limited number of participants in my study, who were furthermore self-selected and non-random. In addition, limited information was available about Serbian schools in a sociolinguistic context. Most studies about second- and third-generation Serbs are about language proficiency, including phonetics and phonology.

5.2 CONCLUSION

Most parents know how difficult it can sometimes be to force their child to wake up and go to school – compulsory school. However, some parents drive their children across the city every Saturday or Sunday and bring them to a school that is not obligatory, but means a lot to them. This study focused on such schools. The aim was to explore the community-based Serbian heritage language schools in the Netherlands through the eyes of the parents. Parents who participated in the survey and the interviews cited many reasons for sending their children to Serbian schools. They are aware of the benefits that their children will gain if they grow up reading, writing, and speaking two languages. Parents hope that this will increase the children's academic skills and career opportunities.

Almost all participating parents feel that Serbian school has helped them to pass on their Serbian language and culture. They indicated that their children are learning to read and write in Serbian, that they are being introduced to the history of Serbia, and that they are being taught cultural and religious values. This reason was particularly emphasised by parents who have little time to teach their children Serbian at home. In addition, better communication with grandparents and other relatives is seen as a result of attending Serbian school. Moreover, the children are making friends with other Serbian children and are being introduced to a new Serbian community. Parents said that attending a Serbian school has made their children proud and confident about their background, and that they have learned to appreciate other cultures and languages because they know the benefits of being Serbian and Dutch.

However, the Serbian schools have their limits. Lack of resources and financial aid force the schools to operate on a voluntary basis. Parents help as much as they can to make sure that their children receive quality instruction. Therefore, all contribution is spent on teaching material, teachers, and extra-curricular events such as folklore and theatre.

This study showed the impact of the abolishment of OALT on Serbian schools. Only three locations, in Rotterdam, Utrecht, and Amsterdam, have managed to keep their doors open. Because the Dutch government, in particular the Ministry of Education, is not involved with the Serbian Schools, a vital link is missing between the mainstream schools and the heritage language schools. Some parents noted, for example, that their child's primary school is not aware of the benefits of heritage language schools, and that teachers are surprised that their child attends Serbian school. However, other parents said that teachers at Dutch schools notice that it is important to stimulate the use of a second language and that the heritage language school plays a great role in the child's development.

This study provided an opportunity for parents to share why it is important that these Serbian schools exist and why it is important to maintain one's heritage language. The Serbian community is not often heard because it has become so well integrated that it is almost invisible. Nonetheless, it is important to report about matters such as the struggles of the heritage language schools, because the work they do is valuable not only for Serbian families and their offspring, but also for mainstream schools and for our entire society.

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APPENDIX A: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Motivi roditelja za srpsku dopunsku školu

Dobrodošli na stranicu ankete! Welkom bij de enquête!

Page description:

Poštovani roditelj(i),

Hvala da izdvajate slobodno vreme za popunjavanje ove ankete. Evo nekoliko korisnih instrukcija:

1. Sva pitanja označena sa * obavezno popuniti.
2. Anketa se sastoj iz dva dela. Ukoliko su roditelji srpskog porekla, sasvim je svejedno ko će od njih dvoje popuniti prvi deo ankete. Ukoliko je jedan od roditelja holandskog porekla, on će nastaviti drugi deo ankete (na holandskom jeziku).
3. U koliko je više vaše dece u školi, pitanja se odnose na svu decu iako su postavljena pitanja u jednini. Te nije potrebno da se pojedinačno za svako od njih popunjavaju polja.

Beste ouder(s),

Hartelijk dank voor uw tijd en moeite om deze enquête in te vullen. Hier volgen enkele nuttige instructies:

1. Alle vragen met een * dienen ingevuld te worden.
2. De enquête bestaat uit twee delen. Het eerste gedeelte wordt ingevuld door de ouder(s) waarvan de achtergrond Servisch is, het maakt niet uit welke ouder dit invult. Indien een van de ouders een Nederlandse achtergrond heeft, dan gaat hij/zij verder met het tweede deel van de enquête (in het Nederlands).
3. Indien u meer kinderen heeft die naar de Servische school gaan, hoeft u niet voor elk kind afzonderlijk de enquête in te vullen. De vragen gesteld in enkelvoud worden dan gelezen als meervoud.

Vaši odgovori su poverljivi i koriste isključivo mom radu. Svi podaci biće anonimni u master radu.

Uw antwoorden zijn vertrouwelijk en worden uitsluitend gebruikt ten behoeve van het onderzoek. Alle gegevens worden in de master scriptie anoniem verwerkt.

1. Prezime porodice: *

2. Ime i mesto dopunske škole kuju dete pohađa: *

O porodici i jeziku

3. Ko popunjava ovu anketu? *

- ☐ Majka
☐ Otac

4. Kada ste došli u Holandiju? *

- ☐ Kao dete
☐ Kao odrasla osoba
☐ Rođen/a sam ovde

5. Starostno doba deteta/dece polaznika škole: *

Dete 1

Dete 2

Dete 3

Dete 4

6. Da li je Vaše dete boravilo u Srbiji? *

Moguće je označiti i više odgovora.

	Rođeno je tamo	Posetilo je	Nikada
Dete 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dete 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dete 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dete 4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Ko govori Srpski u vašoj porodici? *

- ☐ Samo jedan roditelj
- ☐ Oba roditelja
- ☐ Roditelj(i) i dete

8. Ukoliko ste u braku, kojim jezikom međusobno komunicirate?

- ☐ Samo srpski
- ☐ Samo holandski
- ☐ Srpski i holandski
- ☐ Drugi jezik i koji:

9. Koji jezik koristite u komunikaciji sa detetom? *

100% srpski	75% srpski, 25% holandski	50 % srpski, 50% holandski	75% holandski, 25 % srpski	100% holandski
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. Kojim jezikom komunicira vaše dete sa Vama? *

100% srpski	75% srpski, 25% holandski	50 % srpski, 50% holandski	75% holandski, 25 % srpski	100% holandski
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

O školi i jeziku

11. Šta su bili vaši motivi da pošaljete Vaše dete u srpsku dopunsku školu? *

Ukoliko su motivi drugačiji od ovde navedenih, molim Vas napisite u donjem polju 'Comments'.

	Nije bio motiv	Manje važan	Važan	Najvažniji
Dvojezičnost pomaže umnom razvoju deteta	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da nauči srpsku tradiciju	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da upozna srpsku kulturu	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da sazna istoriju Srbije	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da komunicira sa članovima porodice	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da razgovora kada je u Srbiji	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da priča tečno srpski jezik	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da zna da čita i piše srpski jezik	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da se druži sa ostalom srpskom decom	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da bude ponosno na svoje poreklo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Da uči o srpskoj religiji	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mislim da mu dopunska škola može pomoći u boljem obrazovanju u holandskoj školi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Comments

12. Jednom rečju, navedite **najvažniji razlog** zbog koga vaše dete pohađa srpsku dopunsku školu? *

13. Da li mislite da je Vaše dete u prednosti zato što posećuje srpsku dopunsku školu? *

Obrazložite ukratko vaš odgovor u donjem polju 'Comments'.

Ne, ne smatram

☐

Nešto malo

☐

Malo

☐

U velikoj prednosti

☐

Comments *

14. Kako se Vaše dete oseća u srpskoj dopunskoj školi? *

Obrazložite ukratko vaš odgovor u donjem polju 'Comments'.

Ne sviđa mu se

☐

Veći deo vremena nije mu interesantno

☐

Veći deo vremena je zainteresovano

☐

Obožava

☐

Comments *

15. Da li smatrate da je pohađanje jednom nedeljno dovoljno? *

☐ Nije dovoljno

☐ Dovoljno

16. Da li ste zadovoljni kvalitetom nastave i nastavnog osoblja? *

- ☐ Nisam
☐ Delimično zadovoljan
☐ Zadovoljan
☐ Prezadovoljan

17. Šta koristite kao pomoćna sredstva u učenju jezika u okviru porodice? *

Moguće je označiti i više odgovora.

- ☐ Televizijski program na srpskom jeziku
☐ Radio program na srpskom jeziku
☐ Literatura na srpskom jeziku
☐ Igre
☐ Drugo, navedite:

☐ Drugo, navedite:

☐ Drugo, navedite:

☐ Drugo, navedite:

☐ Nerelevantno pitanje

18. Da li je neko od roditelja Holandskog porekla? Heeft een van de ouders een Nederlandse achtergrond? *

Ukoliko jeste (da), pretisnite 'Next' i anketa se nastavlja na holandskom jeziku.
Zo ja, klik op 'Next' en dan gaat de enquête in het Nederlands verder.

- ☐ Da/Ja
☐ Ne/Nee

Ukoliko ste odgovorili sa NE, pretisnite 'Next' i pojaviće se 'Thank You' stranica. Time je vaša anketa poslata i možete zatvoriti stranicu.

Indien u NEE heeft geantwoord, klikt u op 'Next' en zal de 'Thank You' pagina verschijnen. Nu is uw enquête verstuurd en kunt u de pagina sluiten.

In te vullen door de ouder die Nederlands als moedertaal heeft

19. Wie vult dit gedeelte van de enquête in? *

- ☐ Moeder
☐ Vader

20. Beheerst u de Servische taal? *

- ☐ Ja, goed
☐ Slechts een beetje
☐ Nee, niet

21. Spreekt u thuis Servisch (naast het Nederlands)? *

Graag de taal situatie kort toelichten in het 'comments' veld.

- ☐ Ja, met mijn partner
- ☐ Ja, met mijn kinderen
- ☐ Ja, met mijn partner en kinderen
- ☐ Nee, ik spreek thuis geen Servisch
- ☐ Anders

Comments *

22. Wat zijn voor u de belangrijkste redenen om uw kind naar de Servische school te sturen? *

23. In hoeverre bent u het eens/oneens met de onderstaande stellingen? *

	Helemaal mee oneens	Beetje mee oneens	Neutraal	Beetje mee eens	Helemaal mee eens
Een tweetalige ontwikkeling is goed voor kinderen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen (later) ook goed Servisch verstaan	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen (later) naast Nederlands ook goed Servisch spreken	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Voor een goede tweetalige ontwikkeling moet(en) de Servische ouder(s) ook Nederlands spreken tegen hun kinderen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Voor een goede tweetalige ontwikkeling moet(en) de Nederlandstalige ouder(s) ook Servisch spreken tegen hun kinderen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Vergeet nu niet hieronder op 'submit' te drukken! De 'Thank You' pagina zal verschijnen. Nu is uw enquête verstuurd en kunt u de pagina sluiten.

Thank You!

Thank you for taking my survey.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW FORM

SRPSKI

Poštovani roditelj(i),

Pored ankete kao sastavni deo mog rada, biće potrebno da obavim intervju sa nekoliko dobrovoljno prijavljenih roditelja. Razgovor/intervju bi se odnosio na produbljivanje pitanja koja su bila u anketi. Intervju bi trajao najduže sat i po. U istom će učestvovati i ostali roditelji (iz Vaše škole) koji se budu prijavili, a sve u cilju razmene iskustva i mogućeg dijaloga. Vaši odgovori su poverljivi i svi podaci biće anonimni u master radu.

Moj predlog je u koliko Vama odgovara, da se obavi u vreme i prostorijama kada su Vaša deca na nastavi srpskog jezika u srpskoj dopunskoj školi. U suprotnom sledi dogovor.

Ukoliko imate pitanja, možete slobodno kontaktirati putem moje mail adrese a.palmen@student.rug.nl ili telefonom (i WhatsApp itd.) +31*****. Hvala da ste izdvojili dragoceno vreme i pomogli mom radu.

Unapred zahvalan,

Andrej Palmen

NEDERLANDS

Beste ouder(s),

Naast de enquête, zal ik voor mijn scriptie ook enkele interviews afnemen met ouders die zich daarvoor vrijwillig aanmelden. Dit interview/gesprek zal nader ingaan op de vragen waarop u geantwoord heeft in de enquête. Het interview zal niet langer dan anderhalf uur duren. In dit gesprek zullen ook andere ouders (van uw school) deelnemen. Het doel hiervan is het uitwisselen van ervaringen en gedachten.

Uw antwoorden zijn vertrouwelijk en worden uitsluitend gebruikt ten behoeve van het onderzoek. Alle gegevens worden in de master scriptie anoniem verwerkt.

Mijn voorstel is om dit gesprek plaats te laten vinden op de locatie van de Servische school ten tijde van de les van uw kind. Een datum zal spoedig afgesproken worden.

Mocht u nog vragen hebben, dan kunt u mij bereiken via mijn mailadres a.palmen@student.rug.nl of telefonisch (ook WhatsApp etc.) via +31*****. Hartelijk dank voor uw tijd en moeite.

Met vriendelijke groet,

Andrej Palmen

Vaši podaci

Ime, prezime, telefon/mail:

Slažem se sa učestvovanjem u intervju i istraživanju. Slažem se da će dobijani podaci ovog istraživanja biti anonimni u master radu. ☐ (hier aankruisen)

Uw gegevens

Voornaam, achternaam, telefoonnummer/mail:

Ik ga akkoord met de deelname aan het interview en onderzoek. Ik ga akkoord dat de verkregen gegevens uit dit onderzoek anoniem in de scriptie verwerkt worden. ☐ (hier aankruisen)

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Pitanja za intervju

1. Recite nešto o sebi, o svom poreklu, obrazovanju i vaspitanju.
2. Kada ste se doselili u Holandiju?
3. Ispričajte nešto o načinu kako ste integrisali u holandsko društvo. Posebno i o učenju jezika.
4. Koliko imate dece, kog uzrasta i koliko dugo pohađaju srpsku školu?
5. Da li pomažete aktivnosti u školi i koliko puta?
6. Šta ste pri upisu u srpsku školu očekivali da pruži? Da li su se vaša očekivanja ostvarila?
7. Da li pohađanje nastave u srpskoj školi utiče na neku promenu u ponašanju vašeg deteta?
8. Kako objašnjavate pitanje deteta o tome da li je odlazak u srpsku školu nužan?
9. Šta bi za vas bio najveći razlog da deteta ispišete iz srpske škole?
10. Kojim vaspitnim merama utičete na razvoj srpskog identiteta kod deteta?
11. Kako postižete da dete jezike (holandski, srpski) shvati kao nužnu potrebu i prednost u svom razvoju i obrazovanju?
12. Da li negovanje srpskog identiteta kod dece treba prepustiti samo školi. Da li je odlazak u srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu takođe deo tog identiteta?
13. Kako stvoriti balans između dve kulture kad su roditelji različite nacionalnosti i da li škola utiče na smanjenje te različitosti?
14. Da li su nastavnici u holandskoj školi upoznati da vaše dete subotom-nedeljom pohađa nastavu i na srpskom jeziku?
15. Da li imate neke primedbe u vezi srpskog nastavnog programa?
16. Da li je srpska škola za vas isključivo deo nastavnog programa ili mesto gde se deca i roditelji okupljaju i druže?